

## A New Battle For Free Speech

An Editorial

For the last ten years a horde of government agencies have been at work in America seeking to impose a police state on the country.

By means of "investigations," screenings, deportations, jailings — and even executions as in the Rosenberg case — the agencies of Big Business have sought to totalitarianize America.

For ten years, every setback the political police has suffered has been due to resistance of courageous individuals and groups, determined at all costs to uphold this country's democratic traditions.

Their free-speech struggles will pave the way for the mass intervention of the American working class in the struggle against the police-states that will end the depredations of the political police.

The battle over the right of the American Forum — For Socialist Education to organize and conduct untrammelled discussions among various currents in the Socialist movement is now in the forefront of the battle for free speech. The American Forum is defending its right to organize discussions against an attempt by Sen. Eastland to suppress these activities by means of an "investigation."

A. J. Muste, National Chairman of the American Forum, challenged the political cops in the best traditions of the socialist and free-speech movements.

He told the racist and witch-hunting senator that he was not intimidated by the attempted smear and would not cooperate one nickel's worth in the senatorial "investigation."

The right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, however, responded in a different way. They lined up on Eastland's side and joined in the hue and cry against the American Forum. Then they served an ultimatum on all members of the SP-SDF who had joined the National Committee of the Forum to get off or suffer expulsion from the party-federation.

This was a disgraceful betrayal of democratic and socialist principles by people who proclaim themselves to be "democratic socialists."

But neither witch-hunt clamor, nor SP-SDF treachery will keep genuine defenders of civil liberties from rallying behind Muste's resistance to the American political police. Nor will it keep them from upholding the American Forum's democratic right to conduct its socialist discussion program.

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## Morton Sobell to Appeal To U.S. Supreme Court

By Myra Tanner Weiss

May 27—The case of Morton Sobell, serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz prison, will now be taken to the United States Supreme Court. Under appeal will be the May 14 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals which refused to grant Sobell either his freedom or a new trial despite conclusive new evidence that an injustice was done to this scientist.

The decision of the U.S. Appeals Court, written by Judge Harold Medina and concurred in by Judges Sterry Waterman and Clarence Galston, is a document filled with almost unbelievable legal sophistries that show not the slightest concern for either truth or justice. For example, Medina writes that the proof submitted by Sobell's lawyers that Sobell was kidnapped illegally from Mexico, "merely supplemented the proof of appellant's consciousness of guilt by explaining his presence at the trial, which appellant appears to concede was not voluntary."

### TWISTED LOGIC

How could proof that Sobell was not allowed to return to this country voluntarily be proof of a "consciousness of guilt"? And what kind of twisted mind could write the phrase—Sobell "appears to concede" that his presence at the trial "was not voluntary"? How could Sobell "appear to concede" what he was stoutly maintaining?

Sobell's lawyers pointed out that the prosecution knowingly used perjured evidence. At the trial in 1951 the jury was told that Sobell had been "deported" from Mexico. In any jury's mind there can be no question that "deportation" implied some kind of legal procedure by the Government of Mexico. But Medina wasn't interested in the evidence submitted that proved Sobell was not deported or evicted from Mexico in any other legal fashion. Medina is satisfied that Sobell was "deported" because "he did not return to the United States voluntarily; and the expression 'kicked out,' while perhaps offensive to a refined ear, described precisely what happened to him on Aug. 18, 1950."

Judges are supposed to protect the legal rights of American citizens from arbitrary action of their government. Sobell

charges that the FBI arranged with Mexican cops, to have him kidnapped and returned to the U.S. where he was immediately arrested. There was no extradition or deportation hearing of any kind. Thus, Sobell charges, he was neither allowed to return voluntarily nor was he legally deported. He was the victim of a high-handed act on the part of the government. And the judges instead of scoring this high-handed act uphold it by means of word jugglery.

Sobell's lawyers charged that the prosecution concealed evidence that would have been an aid to the defense. In particular, the prosecution had in its possession a vaccination certificate obtained by Sobell in preparation for his return to the United States. Medina wrote, Sobell "might well have claimed that his possession demonstrated an intention to return to the United

States, but the prosecution would just as likely have argued to the contrary."

How could the prosecution use such evidence to argue that Sobell did not intend to return voluntarily? The evidence was in the hands of the FBI and it was not used to argue "to the contrary," as anyone can well imagine.

If the logic of these three men, wielders of "impartial and unprejudiced logic," is a sample of the reasoning of U.S. justices in general then this profession is the most misnamed profession in the country. Now it is up to the Supreme Court to show the quality of its judgement. If this bench is not to turn its back on Sobell's just plea as it has in the past, popular ignorance of the facts in this case must be overcome. Indignation will then take the place of apathy and fear.

Although the Butler Bill has not yet been enacted into law, its central aim—the blacklisting of union militants under the guise of combatting "saboteurs" and "espionage agents"—has been pushed steadily ahead by U.S. Big Business and its government. This alarming fact is documented in the May 2 issue of The Reporter. The magazine reveals how the Industrial Personnel Security Program, set up by President Truman in 1949, is being used to realize the anti-labor objectives of the Butler Bill.

To underscore the "serious implications for the labor movement and the American public" of the Industrial Personnel Security Program, The Reporter describes the case of one of those

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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 22

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1957

PRICE 10c

## Eastland Committee Steps Up Assault on Socialist Forum

### Anti-"Subversive" at Work



## A. J. Muste Tells Witch-Hunter That He Will Defy Inquisition

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, May 28 — "I must on grounds of conscience, and in line with my conception of my duty as a citizen in a democratic society, decline to answer the questions in your letter, written by you as Chairman and on behalf of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. . . Should I be subpoenaed to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee, it would be impossible for me to do more than appear and state my reasons for declining to answer questions of the nature set forth in your letter." This was the firm stand taken by Rev. A. J. Muste, chairman of the recently formed American Forum — For Socialist Education against the latest attack of the witch hunters.

The demand that Muste submit to an inquisition about the American Forum was made by the notorious racist, James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate witch-hunt committee. It followed the issuing of subpoenas for four members of the National Committee of the American Forum and the haling of one of the four, Dr. Albert Blumberg, before Senator John M. Butler, sitting as a one-man board of inquisition on May 21. Blumberg, one of the two Communist Party members on the 40-man National Committee of the American Forum, refused to answer the questions put to him because of their subject matter and because of the nature of the proceedings. He declared that such questions could not conceivably serve any legislative point and that they violated his political rights under the First and Fifth Amendments.

The concerted attack of the Eastland Committee against the American Forum is but the latest phase of the campaign that Big Business interests launched against it on May 13. On that date a press release sent out by Chairman A. J. Muste announced the formation of the Forum, its purpose (to afford a vehicle for free and untrammelled discussion for all socialist-minded tendencies and individuals), its officers and its National Committee of 40 prominent individuals representing every shade of the socialist spectrum in the U.S.

Speaking for the gutter press the next day, New York's Daily News demanded that "The Senate Internal Security Committee look into this mob without delay." The more moderate New York Times culminated three days of biased reporting about the Amer-



A. J. MUSTE

ican Forum with an editorial attacking it. Subsequently the New York Herald Tribune and other key Big Business newspapers throughout the country have chimed in with their demands that the American Forum be killed. The profession of red-baiting columnists such as Herbert (I Led Three Lies) Philbrick and Fulton Lewis, Jr., have been particularly blood-thirsty in their propaganda and crude in their attempts to portray the organization as a "Communist front."

As might be expected when the reactionary pack is, in full cry, the social democrats are running alongside uttering their yelps. The May 27 New Leader, the most important journal of social-democratic opinion, features an article by Diana Trilling attacking the American Forum.

She professes to see a gigantic plot originating in Moscow and the 20th Congress attack on Stalin as a hoax to permit Communist Party members in countries like the U.S. to pretend they are disgusted with Stalinism and even to pretend to quit the CP just in order to become respectable enough to discuss with other

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## Muste and Eastland Letters

The following are texts of a letter from Senator Eastland (D. Miss.) to A. J. Muste, National Chairman of the American Forum — For Socialist Education, and of a reply by Muste to Eastland.

May 17, 1957

Dear Mr. Muste:

The Internal Security Subcommittee has scheduled a hearing next Tuesday on the nature of the American Forum for Socialist Education. This is in connection with the Subcommittee's inquiry into the nature of Communist activities in the United States.

You are listed as Chairman of the Forum, and therefore I would appreciate your answering just a few questions about the organization. It would be most helpful if I had your reply by Tuesday, in which event it will be put into the record on that day. In any event I ask you these questions for the record. The Subcommittee would like to know from you to what extent Mr. Albert E. Blumberg was a moving factor in the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education. Would you tell us the extent of your dealing with Mr. Blumberg in the last eighteen months? Did you present a memo to Mr. Blumberg outlining an exchange of opinion on the whole subject of a union by the Communist and Socialist-minded groups? If you did present such a memorandum, would you supply the Subcommittee with a copy thereof?

Will you tell us also of your dealings with other representatives of the Communist Party, U.S.A., with relation to the Forum?

The Subcommittee would like to have a full account of the following matters pertaining to the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education:

(1) When and by whom was the formation of this organization first suggested to you?

(2) Who handled contacts with prospective members of the AFFSE national committee? To what extent were these contacts personal, and to what extent by mail?

(3) What meetings have been held, when, and where, attended by persons now members of the AFFSE national committee, at which formation of the AFFSE and related matters were discussed?

(4) Has each of the 40 members of the AFFSE national committee personally assented to serving as such? To whom, and in what form, were such assents given? Does each of these 40 members have an equal vote in management of the affairs of the AFFSE?

(5) Is there any group or body other than the AFFSE national committee which is or will be concerned with AFFSE policy or administration? Who are the members of the administrative and executive staff of the AFFSE?

I ask you also to inform the  
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## Eastland Attack on Forum Hit by McAvoy and Zaslow

MAY 27 — Two of the four members of the National Committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education who were subpoenaed by Senator Eastland's Internal

Security Subcommittee made the following statements to The Militant. Clifford T. McAvoy said: "There has never been an organization less like a Communist front than the American Forum for Socialist Education. Made up of people holding highly divergent views, it is a true cross-section of the American radical movement. More important it has no program whatsoever, but was set up solely for purposes of education."

These considerations make the attack of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee all the more reprehensible. The attack is a brazen attempt to stifle freedom of speech and to prevent freedom of association. "Too much praise cannot be given to the Rev. A. J. Muste for

his militant assertion of the right of freedom of speech. Certainly all of those who believe in the Constitution can do no less than to join with him in refusing to concede that the Congress has any right to investigate in the area of political belief."

Milton Zaslow said: "All information concerning the Amer-

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## Gov't Hits Unions With Police-State Screenings

By Harry Ring

Back in 1955 a CIO spokesman warned that if the pending Butler Bill was passed, "We will have taken a long step toward requiring that every worker carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work. And if that ever happens we have exchanged the freedom of American democracy for the tyranny of a police state."

Although the Butler Bill has not yet been enacted into law, its central aim—the blacklisting of union militants under the guise of combatting "saboteurs" and "espionage agents"—has been pushed steadily ahead by U.S. Big Business and its government. This alarming fact is documented in the May 2 issue of The Reporter. The magazine reveals how the Industrial Personnel Security Program, set up by President Truman in 1949, is being used to realize the anti-labor objectives of the Butler Bill.

To underscore the "serious implications for the labor movement and the American public" of the Industrial Personnel Security Program, The Reporter describes the case of one of those

victimized by the screening program. He is Stephan L. Kreznar, a Milwaukee telephone worker. Kreznar was fired by the Wisconsin Telephone Company after 15 years of satisfactory service for failing to win clearance from the government in a company-initiated security check. Kreznar, who has taken his case into federal court, was screened on grounds of alleged membership in the Socialist Workers Party which is included on the Att'y General's "subversive" list. Kreznar denies such membership but freely concedes having attended SWP meetings.

### KEY FACT

A key fact in the case, The Reporter points out, is that "Kreznar was investigated by the government at the request of the phone company itself, although the company had no defense contracts in the area where Kreznar was employed. The company in effect took advantage of a vague security regulation in order to have Kreznar screened." The company's case, which was upheld by the government, rested largely on the contention that it anticipated a government contract some time in the future.

While company lawyers didn't bother saying so, the real issue

is that Kreznar had been a long-time militant in Local 5501 of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and was president of the local when he was fired. According to The Reporter, one union official described Kreznar as "conscientious," "issue-oriented," a "hard fighter in collective bargaining."

### CIO NEWS STAND

The May 3 issue of the Wisconsin CIO News spelled out the meaning of the Kreznar case when it declared "Kreznar is being hounded because he was a strong union man and the company used this as a pretext for ridding the company of a union militant." The statement by the CIO News is a sign that sections of the labor officialdom are becoming alarmed over the activities of the political police in America.

### SCOPE

The Reporter underscores the broad scope of the anti-labor, witch-hunting pattern which the Kreznar case symbolizes. Three million workers in 21,000 plants with government defense contracts or subcontracts came under the purview of the government "screening" program. The companies are granted the right to do their own security screen-

ing on another two million workers classified as less "sensitive."

### PRIVATE SCREENING

In addition, The Reporter points out, "Systematic loyalty-security programs have cropped up in a number of industries not connected with defense work."

In most cases, such industries employ detective agencies to do the "screening."

The real aim of the "screening"—both governmental and private—was stated in a 1952 Report on Industrial Security by the National Industrial Conference Board. It said:

"Even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, Industrial Security can pay you off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote labor grievances, slowdowns and strikes and encourage worker antipathy to management."

### "SUBVERSIVE" LIST

The Reporter makes clear that the key weapon in this anti-labor attack is the Attorney General's list of 303 "subversive" organizations. It says: "Only one organization on the list has been given a hearing, yet industrial or security regulations hold that membership in or association

with members of the branded organizations are factors to be considered in measuring a man's security standing."

That the "subversive" list was designed as a weapon not only against radicals but against the labor movement as a whole is becoming more apparent daily. Literally thousands of union militants like Kreznar have been blacklisted out of industry by use of the list. Such reactionary gangs as the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, alarmed with the list, are becoming increasingly bold in their moves to smear militant local unions. This is illustrated by the current attacks on the Ford and Dodge locals of the UAW reported elsewhere in this issue. (See page four)

### SCAB ROLE

In addition to the operations of the "screening" program, the Subversive Activities Control Board is currently engaged, under provisions of the Communist Control Act, in trying to strip unions of their legal rights. Already before the board are the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the United Electrical Workers (Independent).

Organized labor must mobilize

its forces to combat the steadily growing anti-union witch hunt.

Failure to knock out the "subversive" list and the "screening" process can mean that it will be only a matter of time before every American worker will have to "carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work." And then the capitalist class will have achieved "the tyranny of a police state."

## 1,500 Turn Out for Sobell Boat Ride

Approximately 1,500 New Yorkers took the boat ride up the Hudson River under the auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell on May 26. Hundreds of others who were unable to spend the day on the excursion helped to assure the financial success of the event with their contributions. The trip to Bear Mountain was made with a great deal of spirit. Hundreds of young people sang songs. Special games were organized for the children. The struggle to free Sobell from prison won many new friends.



# The SP Record on Socialism and Democracy

[Text of Murry Weiss' presentation in the debate with Max Shachtman on "What Road to Socialist Regroupment?"]

The most revealing insight into the significance of the current discussion on socialist regroupment, is provided by the events of the last ten days.

On May 13 the launching of the American Forum — For Socialist Education was announced. The 40-member National Committee showed that the Forum project was backed by a widely representative group of radical organizations in the U.S.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party were both represented. There were a half-dozen or so individuals of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on the Committee.

Prominent figures of the radical and progressive labor movement, like the chairman of this evening, Clifford T. McAvoy, were listed.

The launching of a forum to organize the discussion that erupted as a consequence of the crisis of world Stalinism, provoked the direct intervention of the journalistic and legislative representatives of American capitalism.

The New York Times, May 15, published a stern editorial containing a warning: Break it up!

No discussion between "genuine American radicals" and the beyond-the-pale Communist Party will be permitted.

The Daily News the same day was even more blunt: "We suggest that the Senate Internal Security Committee look into this mob without delay; also, that the Attorney General make inquiries as to whether he oughtn't to add it swiftly to his list of subversive organizations."

The voice of the master class was heard and the servants responded—swiftly.

The Eastland Senate Security Sub-Committee subpoenaed five members of the American Forum National Committee, including Albert Blumberg of the Communist Party and Cliff McAvoy of the Committee for Socialist Unity.

At the same time, another servant of the American ruling class, the right-wing bureaucrats of the SP-SDF, stirred themselves from their customary lethargy and jumped to attention—Present and accounted for! They moved in to torpedo the Forum. They forced one SP-SDF participant to resign from the committee; they issued a bureaucratic ukase to the rest of the SP-SDF participants. Resign from the Forum or be expelled from the party. You have ten days to decide.



MURRY WEISS

words and obsequious flattery for the social-democratic scoundrels who represent the Second International in this country.

The episode of the attack on the American Forum, reveals the class context in which the discussion on socialist regroupment is taking place.

First, there was the profound initial stimulus of the Soviet workers, the second largest working class force in the world, whose renewed revolutionary movement produced the crisis in the Soviet bureaucracy that came to the attention of the whole world through the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Next, there was the revolutionary uprisings in Eastern Europe, which proved that the June 1953 general strike in East Germany and the mass strike of political prisoners in Vorkuta were not incidental or isolated events.

The world crisis of Stalinism broke out with full force, affecting every Communist party; the ranks of Communist workers everywhere were shocked and horrified at the Khrushchev revelations which proved Stalin

and Stalinism to be everything we Trotskyists said it was.

The Communist workers turned with scorn and fury on those who had lied to them and betrayed them; step by step they found their way to comradeship with revolutionary socialists. The ranks of the Communist parties began to search for the road back to the program of Leninism. Barriers to discussion with the Trotskyists broke down, despite every attempt of the die-hard Stalinist bureaucrats to maintain them.

Thus the encouraging prospect opened (that tens of thousands of Communist workers, betrayed by Stalinism, would forge a bond of understanding with revolutionary socialists, and find a way to group together with them in a common party — a party that would stand for the principles of class-struggle socialism, the complete political independence of the working class and irreconcilable opposition to the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies.

This is the prospect the Socialist Workers Party is working for in the regroupment crisis. We say that the task of the hour is to organize and advance the discussion of principle. After decades of betrayal and ideological demoralization of the revolutionary vanguard, perpetrated by both the Social Democracy and Stalinism, the opportunity to shatter the grip of the labor bureaucracy on the consciousness of the workers, has once again offered itself—primarily as a result of the new stage in the Russian Revolution.

How can this process be advanced except by patient and systematic discussion, supplemented and reinforced by united action in the class struggle?

To be sure, such a prospect encounters enormous obstacles, particularly here in the U.S. The power of the American ruling class is great; and, as we have seen, it will be exerted fully and brutally to oppose and disrupt a revolutionary socialist regroupment.

## Bureaucrats Aid Wall Street

On the side of the capitalists is the whole atmosphere in the United States, which, despite indications of a change such as manifested by the historic struggle of the Negro people for full equality, remains fundamentally under the influence of cold-war, witch-hunt, armaments-prosperity and reaction.

The whole radical movement in the U. S. is isolated from the mainstream of the powerfully organized and bureaucratized labor movement. The class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy, including its fringe of social-democratic ideological prostitutes of capitalism, has acted as the main support of Wall Street rule in the ranks of the labor movement.

This bureaucracy, the American equivalent of the reformist bureaucracies in Europe, has driven the imperialist witch hunt deep into the unions during this last cold-war decade. Thousands of radical and militant workers have been purged from the factories and union locals and black-listed by the trade-union State Department cops, in collusion with the would-be secret political police—the FBI.

The radicals for all their mistakes, and for all the criminal betrayals of Stalinism and reformism, have not imposed this isolation on themselves. The isolation was imposed on them by a ferocious campaign, waged by the capitalist ruling class and the trade-union bureaucrats.

That is the cold-war reality about the isolation of radicalism. It cannot be overcome by anything less than the combined effect of a new radical wave of class action by the American workers, plus the revolutionary socialist regroupment of the radical workers themselves.

A regrouped and revitalized revolutionary vanguard in the U.S. can play a decisive role in assuring the victory of the next massive wave of working-class

## Unify Revolutionary Socialists

First of all, Shachtman, we have proposed the unity of revolutionary socialists, not the unity of revolutionary socialists with social-democrats on the discredited and treacherous program of reformism. The task of the regroupment discussion, in our opinion, is to determine who are the revolutionary socialists and on what basis they can unite.

We think that thousands of workers and radical youth who were trapped by Stalinism want to be revolutionary socialists. The shattering of the Stalinist monolith has opened the road for them and for the revolutionary socialists to unite. The task is to assemble these forces in one organization. We make no condition that it be our organization, nor do we say that it must

be a revolutionary socialist unification will come. What has this approach in common with the fairy tales spread by Shachtman regarding our alleged ultimatum?

All the concrete organizational steps towards a unity cannot be foreseen at this time. It depends primarily on the fate of the discussion in and around the Communist Party. It depends on the further influence of the events in the class struggle, both internationally and in this country.

Some immediate steps are possible; united front actions are both possible and necessary. It is possible, for example to take a concrete step towards the unification of revolutionary socialist youth into one organization. The SWP has proposed that

## Shachtman's "Entry" Tactic

Such an entry move is, of course, permissible and, under certain conditions, necessary. The process of building a revolutionary party can lead through many organization forms, and any sectarian dogmatism which makes a fetish of a particular organization can prove very harmful to this process.

But what has this to do with Shachtman's proposal? Nothing whatsoever! The first condition of a revolutionary socialist entry move into an organization dominated by reformists is that the revolutionists remain firm in their principles. The first condition of Shachtman's proposal, however, is that revolutionists give up their principles and in a dishonest way adopt the principles of the social-democrats.

Shachtman says, for example: Let everybody "freeze" their positions on the Russian question, which has been the main cause of the splits in the socialist movement since 1917.

Everybody? Well, not exactly! Shachtman doesn't ask the social-democrats to freeze their position. Their position, according to his proposal, will only be the official position of the party. That's perfectly all right with Shachtman, and in accordance with the very nature of things.

But here's the giveaway—the cute little gimmick Shachtman has invented. In his democratic

its youth join the Young Socialist League and work loyally to build it as the nucleus of a broad revolutionary youth movement in the United States.

This particular step depends, of course, on whether Shachtman fails in his attempt to convince the YSL to abandon its independence and subordinate itself politically and organizationally to the State Department "socialist" bureaucrats of the SP-SDF.

But what of Shachtman's unity proposal? Let's get one thing clear. In talking to certain audiences, Shachtman tries to give the impression that he is merely proposing that revolutionary socialists enter the SP-SDF in order to promote a regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in that way.

socialist paradise of the SP-SDF, revolutionary socialists will be permitted to hold private views on such strange notions that the working class should defend the nationalized and planned economy of the Soviet countries against any attempt of imperialism to restore private capitalist property. These views you can hold privately and occasionally even discuss them.

But, according to Shachtman's proposition, you can never get your views officially adopted. Because, Shachtman says, the American workers, whose views he knows intimately, will never tolerate any commitment to the idea that there is anything progressive, whatsoever, about the Soviet Union.

And, just coincidentally, the sacred cows of the SP-SDF bureaucracy won't tolerate such views either—so forget about fighting for them—in the SP-SDF.

And in case these considerations don't give you an idea of what "democratic" life will be like in the SP-SDF, Shachtman has made it clear that he and his colleagues will be right there to keep the left wing in line—and restrain it from any such rash acts as fighting for its position. In a word, Shachtman proposes to police the left wing for the SP-SDF.

## Didn't Invent Charge

Do you think I exaggerate? Don't accuse me of inventing this—it's the charge of an associate editor of Labor Action, Gordon Haskell, one of Shachtman's co-workers, who is opposed to his proposal because it is not for a "healthy socialist unity." Here's what Haskell has to say about Shachtman's proposal in the March issue of Forum, a discussion bulletin of the ISL which can be purchased at their office:

"It has been argued that if the ISL can get into the SP-SDF on 'any basis,' five minutes after we are in, we can change the program of the party as we will. Such an assertion is utterly misleading. No one wants to unite with the SP-SDF and then split it. If the SP-SDF leadership is not willing to negotiate with us on any basis whatever; if even the suggestion that we want to talk about perspectives and program would end in discussion with them, what would their reaction be if, after they had been convinced we were utterly harm-

less and despite their suspicions and misgivings had been cajoled into looking the other way while we crawled in the back door—what, if after such a 'unity,' not after five minutes but after five months, we began to press for programmatic changes? Obviously this could only lead to disaster. The real meaning of such a unity would be a prolonged silence on our part, broken only for the purpose of policing any of our people, or others who might be suspected of being our people, who might raise their voices to demand such changes." (Haskell's emphasis.)

Does this description, by one of Shachtman's own comrades-in-arms, correspond to a revolutionary entry tactic? Or is it a formula for capitulation to Social Democracy?

You think capitulation might be too strong a word? Let's see what another co-worker of Shachtman has to say in this same issue of Forum. Hal Draper, the editor of Labor Action,

## Weiss, Shachtman Debate Issue of Socialist Unity

NEW YORK — The only organization today that can serve as the pole of attraction for regroupment of socialists in America is the Socialist Party — Social Democratic

Federation, said Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Independent Socialist League in a debate, May 24. His opponent was Murry Weiss of the Socialist Workers Party. (See text of Weiss presentation on this page.) Clifford T. McAvoy of the Committee for Socialist Unity was chairman.

The SP-SDF is the only one of the various socialist propaganda groups, Shachtman claimed, that has the opportunity to become a broad socialist movement. The principal argument advanced by Shachtman for his contention was that the Socialist Party "is associated with the democratic socialist tradition" and "was not held by the American workers to be associated with Stalinism in any way." That gives it the opportunity—alone among all current socialist propaganda groups—to become a broad socialist movement.

The break-up of the Communist Party, Shachtman continued, is creating a vacuum which can be filled by a radical party willing to be a "loyal, respectable part of the American labor movement." The only one of the existing "sects" which can serve as the rallying point for this development is the SP-SDF.

Weiss attacked Shachtman's proposal for joining the Socialist Party as interfering with, rather than aiding the patient and systematic discussion among radicals which is necessary for the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. He pointed to the anti-democratic, anti-socialist record of the social democracy, in general, and its participation in the lynch attack on the American Forum for Socialist Education, in particular.

Shachtman did not seek to refute Weiss' charges against the

SP-SDF or document his own claim that the organization possessed a record of upholding democracy and socialism. Nor did he give a clear answer to Weiss' question whether he would repudiate Leninism as the price for being allowed to join the SP-SDF. "If Thomas wants me to repudiate Leninism," Shachtman said, "he must first tell me what it is he wants me to repudiate. I don't think Thomas knows what Leninism is."

Shachtman further stated that if he were inside the SP-SDF he would favor "policing the left wing in such a way that it remains loyal and not cause splits." This was in answer to an accusation by Weiss that Shachtman's role in the SP would be to police the left-wing for the sake of the right-wing party bureaucrats.

Shachtman prefaced his support for the SP-SDF by declaring that the present isolation of radicals in the U.S. cannot be explained by prosperity. (He did not refer in any way to the witch hunt.) First, he said, there is a revolution of the U.S. workers to the Soviet Union and the crimes of Stalinism, and to the radical movement which they associate with defense of the Soviet Union and apology for Stalin's crimes. Second, he continued, the radicals themselves are split into "ineffective sects" differentiated mainly by their distinct positions on the "Russian Question."

The various tendencies, said Shachtman, should now "freeze" their different positions on the USSR and unite in a single organization. The only programmatic condition he placed on the unity was that the united party must hold that there is "nothing progressive whatsoever" about the Soviet Union.

who also opposes the kind of unity Shachtman wants, speaks quite plainly and clearly:

He explains that Shachtman's unity proposal is neither a proposal for unity or entry.

He calls it euphemistically a proposal for "dissolution and entry." And what is the political content of this dissolution and entry? Draper says:

"From the point of view which Shachtman holds, it would be a great error to change the right-wing politics of the SP. For Shachtman thinks of his 'unity' perspective as setting up a movement, or a simulacrum of a movement, which appeals to the right. Part of the value of the SP, for Shachtman, is precisely its right-wing appeal. Insofar as the SP becomes ISL-ish, it loses part of the very reason why Shachtman is so enthusiastic about dissolving into it now. This is another and even more basic reason why (per Shachtman) the ISLers must guard against changing the right-wing political character of the SP." (Draper's emphasis.)

Draper says: "Comrade Shachtman becomes understandably vehement in arguing that his proposal does not mean 'capitulation' to social-democracy. He becomes highly scientific and precise in his definition of 'capitulation.'" So Draper cuts through the terminological argument and says:

"Let us instead use a very precise term. What the consequences of the Shachtman line entails is a systematic political adaptation to social-democracy."

Draper continues: "No, Shachtman has not the slightest intention of repudiating his views. But who will be so 'sectarian' as to object if they were bent, fitted, filed, rubbed down, carved, trimmed or cold-stored—so as to ingratiate us as good-dogs with the SP right wing?"

This is Draper's evaluation of Shachtman's line. And he didn't arrive at it hastily. He spent a whole year on the ISL Political Committee trying to avoid an open conflict, but finally had to conclude that the differences were "irrepressible."

"Capitulation" or "systematic political adaptation to social-democracy"? You can take your choice.

[The concluding part of the text will be carried in our next issue. — Ed.]

## Regroupment Discussed At Cleveland Symposium

CLEVELAND, May 27 — "Socialist Regroupment — Its Advisability and Possibilities," was the subject of a symposium held here last night under the auspices of the Cleveland Open Forum.

Speakers were Jerry McDermott of the Independent Socialist League, R. Himmel of the Socialist Workers Party, B. Hendrick of the Young Socialist League and C. B. Cowan of the Revolutionary Workers League. The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, the Communist Party and the Socialist Labor Party declined invitations to participate.

McDermott, speaking for the ISL, called for a regroupment inside the SP-SDF, and said that such a regroupment should include all tendencies, but that the united organization could not take the "public position that Russia is a workers' state." He said the politics of the SP-SDF "are not perfect, but they're not the worst."

Cowan said the RWL feels that regroupment does not mean the same thing as organizational unity

ty and that there are opportunities for united activities between different groups without giving up their organizational independence and their programs.

Hendrick, representing the YSL, agreed that regroupment should take place in the SP-SDF. "It is hard to recruit youth these days," he said. "They want respectability." The SP-SDF, he continued, is acceptable to such people. "It is clean and has a good reputation and never has been in trouble with the government."

Speaking for the SWP, Himmel pointed out that unity is unrealistic without agreement on main principles. Characterizing the program of the SP-SDF as "State Department socialism," he declared that those who demand regroupment in such an organization are "trying to corral everyone into a unity that is hostile to the traditions of socialism."

The ISL, he observed, rules out regroupment with any group that holds there is anything progressive in the Soviet Union, "but it is perfectly okay with them if such a regroupment gives blanket endorsement to American imperialism as the SP-SDF does."

To this approach Himmel counterposed a broad discussion on socialist fundamentals leading to a new agreement around revolutionary principles. He expressed confidence in the success of a "revolutionary" as counterposed to a "reformist" regroupment,

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Single Copies: 5¢ or more  
copies 50¢ each in U.S., 75¢  
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## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7408  
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Signed articles by contribu-  
tors do not necessarily re-  
present The Militant's policies.  
These are expressed in its  
editorials.  
Entered as second class  
matter March 7, 1944 at the  
Post Office at New York,  
N.Y., under the act of March  
3, 1879.

Vol. XXI - No. 22

Monday, June 3, 1957

## The State of the Witch Hunt

We have always held the highest regard for I. F. Stone's vigorous and consistently principled participation in every major civil liberties fight. And we certainly wish he were correct when he said in the May 13 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly that "While the Senate last week was burying McCarthy, the U.S. Supreme Court buried McCarthyism." Unfortunately, he is wrong.

Stone arrives at his optimistic view on the basis of two recent, encouraging high court decisions. In both the case of Rudolph Schware of New Mexico and that of Raphael Konigsberg of California, a majority of the court voted that past membership in the Communist Party, or even present expression of dissident views, does not by itself constitute sufficient reason for barring a man from law practice.

There have been other recent Supreme Court decisions which might seem to bolster Stone's contention that "It looks like the witch hunt is drawing to its close." These include the reversal of the conviction of three California people charged with "harboring" Communist Party leader Robert Thompson in 1953. Their conviction was voided because they were victims of illegal search and seizure by the FBI. There is also the government decision to drop plans for a new trial of unionist Ben Gold. His previous conviction for alleged violation of the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit was voided because the FBI had intimidated members of the jury.

## No Occupiers Wanted

In commenting on the May 24 demonstrations against the U.S. in Taiwan (Formosa) precipitated by the release of a U.S. soldier who had killed a Chinese, Senate Democratic leader Johnson (D-Texas) said he considered it "very regrettable that people for whom we've done so much would destroy our buildings, and tear down our flags because of one incident." It is true that the U.S. Government under the Democrats and the Republicans has "done so much" for its puppet regime on Taiwan, but for the people of that island it is a different story.

A Chinese tailor in Taipei explained this in part to a writer for the N.Y. Times (May 28). He told of a hostess in a bar near his shop who had her front teeth knocked out by GI's. The Nationalist Chinese officials refused to aid her quest to make the GI's pay for false teeth, telling her "not to start trouble with an American." The U.S. Army officials likewise turned her down. She lost her job because of her marred appearance.

It is clear that the Taiwan demonstrations did not result from "one incident," but from innumerable incidents such as this and from the nature of the job the GI's are forced to do. They are sent overseas, in the interests of U.S. capitalist profits, to defend puppet dictators against the wrath of their own people, to occupy conquered countries, and to maintain bases from which attacks on colonial revolutions or the Soviet orbit can be

launched. These are thankless, confusing, degrading tasks, which in themselves tend to brutalize the men who are forced to carry them out.

On the other hand, the people who suffer the backwardness and corruption of the regimes which U.S. imperialism supports, and who fear the destruction of their homelands in H-Bomb war, tend to identify their unhappy plight with the presence of U.S. troops.

Mass opposition to the presence of troops has reached widespread and even violent proportions in Britain, Germany, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, the Philippine Islands, other smaller countries, and most recently in Taiwan. This is irrefutable proof that U.S. military bases are not helping the people there.

Moreover, the withdrawal of all U. S. troops from abroad would be the greatest aid the American people could provide to the workers in the Soviet bloc struggling to throw off their totalitarian regimes and establish workers' democracy. For it would lessen the threat of capitalist military intervention in their countries.

The solution to all these problems is not to be found in devising new restrictions or punishments against individual GI's but in the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from foreign lands and waters. That is the only answer that is fair to both the GI's and the foreign populations, and which would be welcomed by each.

These and several other victories indicate the fact that the easing of the cold-war against the Soviet Union has slowed down the witch hunt in some directions. But a full estimate of the present trend makes clear that a good deal of hard fighting lies ahead to guarantee the future of the Bill of Rights. Even in its most favorable decisions, the Supreme Court has avoided tampering with the basic witch-hunt structure. The "subversive" list, the "loyalty" purges, the Smith Act trials and all other pieces of the witch-hunters' heavy artillery yet remain to be knocked out.

And most decisive of all, is the fact that the political police are turning their guns on the entire labor movement.

The anti-union smear campaign being carried on through the vehicle of the McClellan committee is clearly designed to pave the way for laws to help housebreak the unions and bring them under ever-greater government control. This housebreaking process is not isolated from the simultaneous broadening of the practice of screening union militants out of industry. (See story page 1.) Along with the screening of individuals there has been the continuing activity of the Subversive Activities Control Board aimed at smashing entire unions.

Until all of this comes under the attack of an aroused labor movement, obituaries for police-statism in America are not in order.

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## Natalia Trotsky Visit Ended For Refusal to Aid Witch Hunt

Natalia Sedoff Trotsky, widow of the great Bolshevik leader, left the U.S. by plane for Mexico on May 24. She thus put an end to the campaign of officially-inspired newspaper stories that she had come to this country to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Central Intelligence Agency and various other witch-hunt and cold-war governmental bodies. Indeed, it was her categorical refusal to appear before any committee that led to her becoming persona non grata and being required to leave U.S. territory.

Mrs. Trotsky arrived in the U.S. early in April. She came to visit New York City, where she had lived for some months in 1917 with her husband and two sons, and for medical attention. When she was granted permission to enter the U.S., she was

evidently not aware of the government's ulterior motives.

No sooner had the elderly woman arrived in the U.S., however, than it became apparent that she was being made the victim of duplicity. Lurid newspaper accounts, one of them based on an interview with General Swing, head of the Immigration Department, announced that she had come to testify before Congressional committees and other government bodies. A nationally syndicated columnist, Robert Allen, even wrote on April 18 that she had spent the previous week testifying in a secret session of the Senate Internal Security Committee.

Mrs. Trotsky wrote a letter to the Post, the New York newspaper which carries Allen's column, stating that there was no truth whatsoever in his story, that she had not testified before

any committee, and requesting that Allen correct his misstatements in that regard. After several days delay the New York Post printed a shortened version of her letter in the "Dear Editor" column. No article or comment was made elsewhere in the paper. Nor did any of the Big Business dailies which had prominently featured the officially-inspired stories about her coming to the U.S. to testify, mention her denial. Nor did columnist Robert Allen retract his fiction of April 18.

### ADAMANT IN REFUSAL

Considerable pressure was brought to bear on Mrs. Trotsky to testify in Washington. She was, however, adamant in her refusal. Thereupon she was informed that the time allowed for her visit had elapsed and that she must leave at once.

The New York Post (May 27), reported her departure for her home in Mexico, which alone observed the democratic tradition of the right of asylum and gave her and her husband residence rights in 1936. The Post story said: "Government hopes for a heart-to-heart talk with Mrs. Leon Trotsky apparently have been disappointed. . . . Unofficially, however, it was believed that since her visit here was proving unprofitable from the government's point of view, Mrs. Trotsky was given to understand that her continued residence here was unnecessary."

During her brief stay in the U.S., Mrs. Trotsky held no conversations with any government officials. The only officials she had any contact with were those immigration department employees who process papers of foreigners entering the country. At Idlewild International Airport in New York, three immigration employees were assigned to watch the 75-year-old woman and make sure that she got on the plane for Mexico and stayed on.

In her long life devoted to the struggle for socialism, in the course of which her husband and children were struck down by Stalin's assassins, Mrs. Trotsky has undergone the unpleasant experience of being ousted from many countries. Now U.S. imperialism can add this to its list of achievements. In doing so it equals the old imperialisms and the USSR under Stalin.

In a statement, May 28, Congressman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee claimed Mrs. Trotsky had been "intimidated" into not talking. He said he was planning to "investigate" those responsible.

### Morton and Helen Sobell



The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell announces that the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals written by Judge Harold Medina which denied the Alcatraz prisoner a new trial will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. (See story, page one.)

## ... The Muste-Eastland Correspondence

(Continued from page 1)

subcommittee as fully as your knowledge permits respecting the source or sources of funds used by or available to the American Forum for Socialist Education.

Yours very truly,

James O. Eastland, Chairman  
Internal Security  
Subcommittee

### A. J. Muste Replies

Dear Mr. Eastland:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 17, 1957, addressing to me a long series of questions relating to American Forum — For Socialist Education. May I call your attention to the fact that this letter was sent to an old address and had to be forwarded from there? Consequently, it did not actually come into my hands until later yesterday, Wednesday afternoon, May 22, 1957.

It is relevant in this connection to point out also that many weeks ago I sent you and the Subcommittee a copy of a letter dated May 2, 1957, and addressed to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A communication from Mr. Hoover to your Subcommittee dealt with the presence at the Communist Party Convention in September of a number of observers, all non-Communists and outspoken critics of Communist totalitarianism. Mr. Norman Thomas, among others, had been associated with me in working out this project.

Mr. Hoover in his communication to your Subcommittee spoke of me as having "long fronted for Communists" which, as any one who has any acquaintance with these matters knows, was the exact opposite of the truth since I have for over twenty years been an intransigent opponent of the opposite. The U.S. Weather Bureau announced May 23 that the fearful Strontium 90, the bone-killing poison produced only by nuclear explosion, has increased 14-fold in the New York area.

Smith Act, a petition in which over forty well known citizens such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas and Dr. John C. Bennett, the dean of Union Theological Seminary, New York, joined.

That there should be in such high quarters a pattern of thinking which can regard the exercise of the right of petition by such citizens as evidence of Communist "fronting" is truly alarming and exposes the existence of the virus of political inquisition, one of the marks of totalitarianism, in the highest official quarters.

Turning now to your letter of May 17 to me, I regard it in its context as evidence of the same dangerous tendencies. The American Forum has just come into existence. Its development has been completely open and above board. Its launching was announced to the press together with the list of members of a provisional National Committee whose connections were easily identifiable.

Now, before American Forum can engage in any activity other than announcing formation of a Committee, your Subcommittee announces that it is investigating the Forum in connection with "Communism." It issues subpoenas to five persons, one of whom is not on the National Committee. Mr. Victor Perlo is some one who has never had the remotest connection with discussions leading to formation of American Forum. I have never known him or had the slightest connection with him. It is impossible to avoid the inference that the purpose of bringing his name into this picture at all is to suggest some devious connection of American Forum, organized purely for purposes of open discussion, with espionage or other such treasonable activities. In any case, you and your staff workers are well aware of the fact that in the atmosphere which has been created in our country such an inference about American Forum is bound to be drawn by many people and because of this many who would

like to take part in its work will be forced to shun it or be subjected to persecution.

There seemed for a time to be a tendency among Congressional investigating committees such as yours to exercise some care in a matter of this kind, to investigate first without advance publicity and not to expose loyal citizens to public inquisition and persecution before there was some slight ground for supposing that questionable activities had taken place. In this case not even this minimum of care to observe the old American tradition of not branding citizens as somehow guilty before they have ever been charged with any crime seems not to have been observed.

I must on grounds of conscience and in line with my conception of my duty as a citizen in a democratic society, decline to answer the questions in your letter, written by you as Chairman and on behalf of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

As I have already stated, American Forum was organized in a completely open and above board fashion. Since you make reference to such matters as united action and "the whole subject of a union between Communist and Socialist-minded groups" let me observe that there has never been any question of American Forum having anything to do with such matters or anything except discussion between people who differ on many fundamental issues, not people who have agreed upon basis for common action. In making this statement I do not mean to imply that if there had been talks relating to legal activities of a political nature, your Committee or any such government agency would, in my opinion, have a right to conduct an inquisition into them. Any more than I think any such agency has a right to conduct an inquisition into your political activities which, as you must know, are also unpopular in many quarters.

Your letter makes a reference

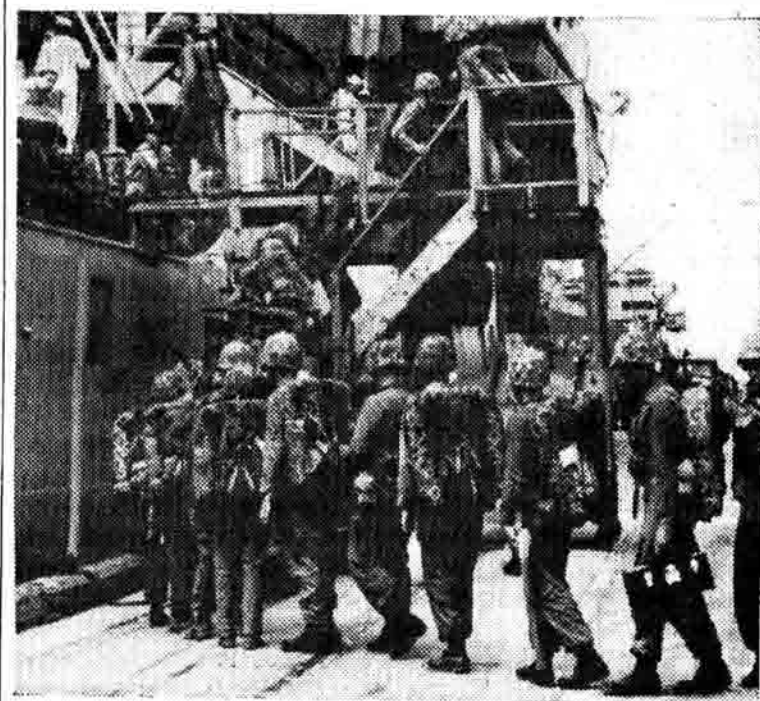
to memoranda. Any that I have had anything to do with in American Forum as a body have been freely sent around to any who might be interested and are in no way secret. In view of the pervasive espionage activities which unfortunately characterize our country in this period, I surmise your Subcommittee already has these materials.

Primarily, my declination of the request to answer the questions presented by you in your official capacity is due to my firm conviction that inquisition into the political — the same would be true of religious — views and activities of citizens is evil, a resort to methods characteristic of totalitarian regimes, unconstitutional, and profoundly un-American. In a free society, we have to draw a line between advocacy, discussion, and all such matters on the one hand, and acts which are illegal, subversive or treasonable on the other hand. The line between the two may not always be easy to draw. This is precisely the basis on which totalitarian regimes seek to justify all their anti-democratic measures. We must not go up that road to perdition.

Should I be subpoenaed to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee, it would be impossible for me to do more than appear and state my reasons for declining to answer questions of the nature set forth in your letter of May 17, 1957. I can assure you that if this should come to pass, I shall not appeal to the Fifth Amendment. This is not meant, however, as a reflection on any individual who may have done so.

It happens, Mr. Eastland, that I differ profoundly from you on such very fundamental matters as the position citizens should take toward the unanimous Supreme Court decision on integration in the public schools and on the whole question of relations between races. I do not see how your attitude can be squared with democratic concepts or with the central teachings of the Christian faith. I

### Unwelcome Departure



U.S. Marines boarding a transport last month for the Mideast where they joined the U.S. Sixth Fleet under orders to defend feudal despots against the rising Arab masses. Such dirty duty has made "Yankee Go Home" the overwhelmingly popular sentiment in Europe and Asia as well as in the Mideast.

## Anti-U.S. Demonstrations Rock Chiang Dictatorship

The burning resentment of the people of Taiwan (Formosa) against U.S. imperialism and its brutal puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek erupted, May 24, into mass demonstrations in the island's capital city of Taipei. About 30,000 persons besieged the Nationalist police headquarters in Taipei for six hours before being dispersed by the arrival of troops and the declaration of martial law in the city.

The angry crowd was demanding release of prisoners taken earlier the same day in demonstrations which wrecked the U.S. Embassy and the offices of the U.S. Information Service and which besieged the U.S. military communications center. At least three islanders were killed and 13 Americans injured in the fighting. Four other cities where some of the 9,000 U.S. personnel on the island are stationed have since been put under martial law.

The mass outburst was precipitated by a U.S. court-martial's acquittal of a U.S. Army sergeant who had killed a Chinese clerk allegedly found "peeping" at the sergeant's wife while she showered. The sergeant claimed "self-defense." When the dead man's wife, Mme. Liu Chui-Jen, daughter of a formerly prominent Nationalist Chinese, made an impassioned appeal for indemnity in front of the U.S. Embassy and was refused, the build-

ing was stormed by an angry crowd including many uniformed students from a nearby junior high school.

### FIRST REVOLT SINCE '49

This is the first major mass action on Taiwan since 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek shot his way on to the island and drowned a revolution there in blood with U.S. military aid. This was right after he had been thrown out of mainland China. It proves that the \$3½ billion in military and \$775 million in economic aid which the U.S. has so far pumped into Taiwan has failed to secure a stable base there for U.S. imperialism.

All reports agree that even the 15% of the island's 10 million people who followed Chiang from the mainland are incensed at the presence of U.S. military personnel and at Chiang's dependence on them to maintain his police state. Half the crowd that stormed the U.S. embassy, according to the May 28 New York Times, were believed to be "mainland" Chinese.

U.S. "aid" to Taiwan has helped "the rich man improve his business," said Senator Ellender (D-La.) on May 25, but he said it doesn't reach "the masses."

## Letter from Farrell Dobbs Corrects Daily Worker

(The following letter was sent by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to the Daily Worker on May 22—Ed.)

Editor, Daily Worker

In reporting a debate over the class nature of the Soviet Union between Joseph Clark of the Daily Worker staff and Michael Harrington of the Young Socialist League, your May 17 issue makes important errors of fact.

The report designates as Trotskyist Harrington's view that the Soviet Union is "neither capitalist or socialist but bureaucratic collectivist." Again, Max Shachtman, with whom Harrington is associated, is described as a Trotskyist leader in a passage of the report that cites how Shachtman's anti-Soviet views have been utilized by the State Department.

The fact of the matter is that neither Harrington's nor Shachtman's views coincide at all with those that Leon Trotsky consistently championed. Trotsky held that the Soviet Union had suffered bureaucratic degeneration, but that it remained a workers' state, nevertheless, by virtue of continued existence of the na-

tionalized property and of the planned economy. He held that the working class should defend the workers' state against all attempts at capitalist restoration. At the same time he held to the necessity of a political revolution to restore workers' democracy.

In 1940, Shachtman led a faction in the Socialist Workers Party which broke with Trotskyism up and down the line including Trotsky's program of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Shachtman and his supporters denied the validity of such defense since they now rejected the view that the Soviet Union was a workers' state at all. Trotsky vigorously combated their views. The dispute led to Shachtman's definitive split from the SWP. The SWP and the Shachtman organization remain divided on the Russian—as well as many other—questions to this day.

I call these facts to your attention and make a request that you correct your May 17 report accordingly.

## Opposition in U.S. To Nuclear Tests Keeps Mounting

Mounting dread over the peril resulting from the testing of nuclear weapons is reflected in the public hearings by a Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. Opening the hearings, May 27, Rep. Holifield (D-Calif.) said that he has received hundreds of letters expressing grave concern as to the poisonous effect of nuclear tests. He revealed that a group of prominent scientists are seeking an end to the tests and are now drawing up a petition to that effect.

The move of the scientists coincides with a dramatic leap in the number of Americans opposed to the tests. The Gallup Poll reported, May 19, that a current survey shows that 63% of the American people now favor the U.S. agreeing to stop the tests. This figure is a marked increase over the 24% who took this stand last November.

Despite efforts of Atomic Energy to belittle the risks, more information comes to light daily indicating the opposite. The U.S. Weather Bureau announced May 23 that the fearful Strontium 90, the bone-killing poison produced only by nuclear explosion, has increased 14-fold in the New York area.

### Philadelphia Public Meeting "JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL"

Hear:  
HELEN SOBELL  
Wife of Morton Sobell  
MYRA TANNER WEISS  
Staff Writer, The Militant

JEAN FRANTJIS  
Phila. Chair., Comm. to Secure Justice for Sobell

See:  
"WAS JUSTICE DONE?"  
A Film Strip

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Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party,  
Phila. Local  
Proceeds to Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell  
Donation 50 cents



## Liberals Took a Powder

Conspicuous by their absence from the prayer-pilgrimage to Washington were the liberals. Usually in the limelight at civil rights conferences, etc., are Northern Democratic politicians posing as "friends of the Negro people," and spokesmen for the many organizations which claim to speak in the name of that amorphous section of the population described as liberal. But they failed to show up at the Lincoln Memorial on May 17.

It is an open secret that the big-wheel liberals, like their buddies, the trade-union bureaucrats, opposed the march on Washington and tried to prevent its being called. When, despite their efforts, it was called they passed word down to give it no support.

For example, the New York Post, the liberal paper which ordinarily gives more coverage to news of the anti-Jim Crow struggle than any other capitalist daily in the country (and has thereby considerably boosted its circulation and political influence), played down the story so that only the sharpest-eyed reader would know that the Pilgrimage was being planned. Even stories reporting the meeting itself were shamefully played down.

The speakers' list for the Pilgrimage included but two professional liberals — a great change from the usually disproportionate prominence given to them. These two were Democratic Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois and Republican Senator Jacob Javits of New York. But neither of these "friends of the Negro people" even bothered to show up.

Why did the liberals boycott the Prayer Pilgrimage? The answer is that they are interested in the Negro struggle only as far as they can use it. Those few who are connected with the Republican Party couldn't use the Pilgrimage because the very holding of it was a sharp rebuke to Eisenhower for his refusal to utter even one mumbling platitude against the white-supremacist violence in the South. That's why liberal Senator Ives (R-N.Y.) publicly opposed the march on Washington and why Sen. Javits didn't show up.

But most of the liberals are in the Democratic Party and they equally opposed the demonstration. If it had been directed only against the Republican administration they would have jumped on the bandwagon and tried to grab the drivers' reins. But the whole march was as damaging to the Democratic Party as to the Republicans and so they turned thumbs down. Their attitude is: the struggle against Jim Crow is all right but it must be kept in its place.

The Negro people did absolutely right in holding the first national anti-segregation demonstration in the nation's capital despite the refusal of their fair-weather liberal friends to go along with it. The demonstration was a success to the tune of 27,000 and an inspiration for further principled struggle. Furthermore, the Negro people have the satisfaction of knowing that they did it all themselves.

# The Washington Pilgrimage

## Turnout Not Pushed in Youngstown

The Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington on May 17 drew very few people from this steel city. Not that the workers were not interested and would not have participated in the March on Washington, but there was a cloak of silence thrown over the event by the capitalist press, by the labor leadership and by the NAACP leaders.

The NAACP locally did not solicit any aid from the labor movement and made no effort to get people to go to Washington. And when the workers feel that their organizations do not consider the project worth supporting, they feel that they cannot spend money to help in a movement that seems to be the action of some far-off group of individuals.

In truth, the workers were presented with very little news about the projected march. Even the ministers who, one would think had some feeling of kinship for the ministers of the South — the original organizers of the Pilgrimage — did not publicize the project. This was the story in all the industrial communities of Eastern Ohio. The same pattern seemed to have been followed throughout.

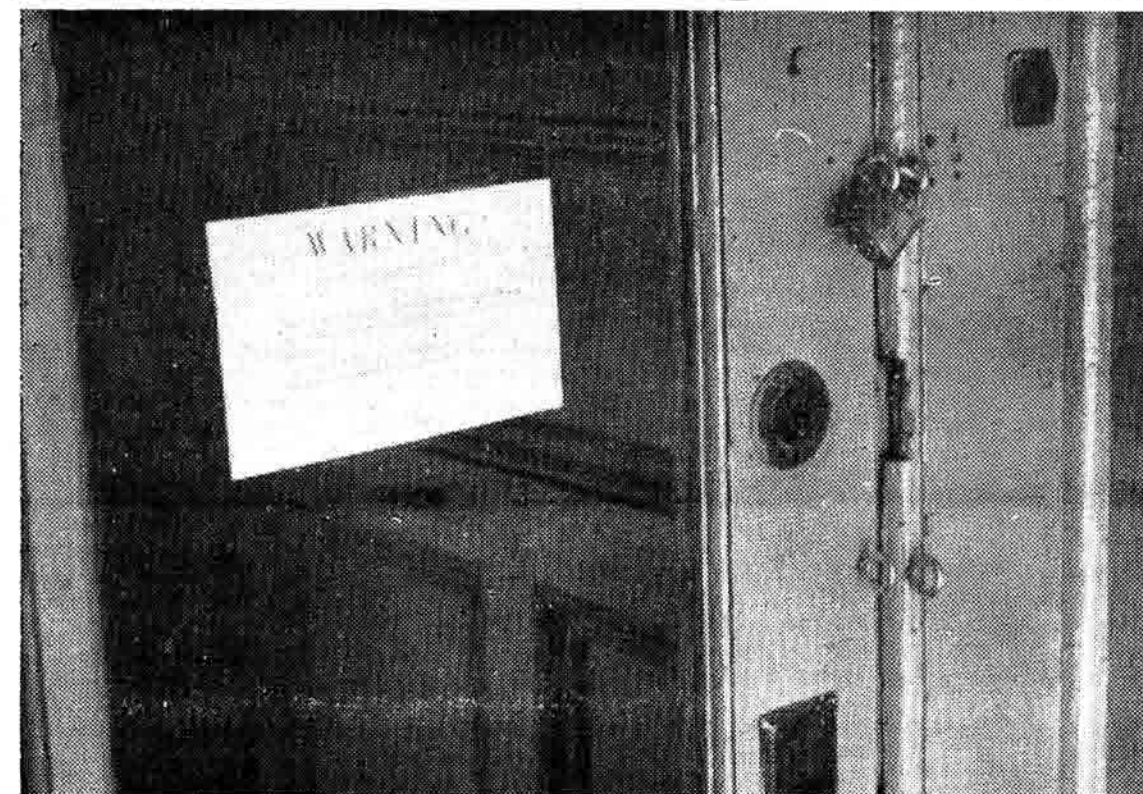
**CARLOADS**  
But in spite of the inaction by the official organizations with their great resources and prestige, several carloads did make the trip from Youngstown to Washington. These carloads were the result of a lot of work by those who really understood the importance of the demonstration.

The reaction of those who participated in the Pilgrimage was unanimous that the demonstration was a success. And these "pilgrims" believed that the mass protest rally as a whole exhibited a determination to go ahead with the struggle for equality. They held no pessimism for the future, but on the contrary, they left with the feeling that the battle has just begun.

is a denial of the fundamental right and duty of all men to think.  
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"Dear Sir:  
"On behalf of the students, Board of Directors and supporters of the California Labor School, I protest against the seizure and sale of the books, school supplies and equipment of our school. You are depriving us of our American right to teach and our citizens of their democratic right to learn in a school of their own choosing."  
"This is an unjust act. It is a flagrant violation of the first amendment, of our Bill of Rights and of the Constitution of the United States. It

## A Padlock on the Right to Learn



The California Labor School in San Francisco is shown above with its front door padlocked. The School which is well known on the West Coast as a working-class educational institution was first attacked as a "communist front" and then closed by tax agents of the Treasury Department in a fraudulent and retroactive tax decision. Holland Roberts, Director of the School, May 24, wrote the following letter of protest to Ernest Gomez of the Internal Revenue Service in California:

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## Calendar Of Events

**New York**  
American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M. at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion. Tues., June 4: Earl Owens will review Rosa Luxemburg's Reform or Revolution?

Marxist Labor School. A series of classes from 8 to 10 P.M. every Monday night until June 10 on "The History of American Socialism" led by Joyce Cowley, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York. To register phone ALgonquin 5-7852. 116 University Place.

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A group of "pilgrims" standing in the Park near the Lincoln Memorial on May 17 in Washington, D.C. An estimated 25,000 persons from all over the United States attended the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" at the Memorial to protest Jim Crow.

## Brooklynites Welcomed Attack on Both Parties

**By Nat West**  
Four buses, loaded with 200 enthusiastic Negro and white "pilgrims," left from the Brooklyn Branch of the NAACP at 6:20 A.M., Friday morning. More people showed up the last minute than could be accommodated. These people departed later in car pools arranged for this purpose.  
In the bus we rode, the trip to Washington was marked by a running discussion, with many participating, on the significance and the prospects of the demonstration at the Lincoln Memorial. Of particular interest was the report that Adam Clayton Powell planned to propose a "third party," that afternoon. All who expressed themselves on this matter indicated their approval of Powell's proposal.

We arrived at the Lincoln Memorial at 1:00 P.M. and were able to hear all the important speakers.  
On the return trip the discussion was continued, this time evaluating the results and perspective of the demonstration. There was general agreement that (1) the effect of the Pilgrimage was dampened by the appeal to forego applause because of the "religious nature of the meeting"; (2) that while Powell raised the most serious proposals, the Negro people had little confidence in his sticking to his guns; and (3) that Rev. Martin Luther King was the most trustworthy and authoritative spokesman of the Negro people.

In further discussion with a smaller group, the general conclusion was that the leadership, in their efforts to guarantee that the demonstration would be kept within limits, had stifled many of the positive results that the leadership itself wanted to achieve. But that the raising for discussion by Powell of the proposal for a third force in politics was a giant step forward in the movement for independent Labor-Negro political action.

## ... Assault on Socialist Forum

(Continued from page 1)  
Singer followed this up by pushing through the SP-SDF's National Action Committee a resolution ordering six SP-SDF members on the American Forum National Committee to resign from it or be expelled from the SP-SDF.  
This action was upheld by the National Executive Committee. (The NEC also voted to forbid joint activity with the Independent Socialist League.)  
It is reported that a majority of the six SP-SDF members on the American Forum are standing firm for their democratic right to belong to the forum despite the ruling of SP-SDF bureaucrats.

Earlier, Mulford Q. Sibley, professor at the University of Minnesota and an alternate member of the SP-SDF National Executive Committee, in a letter to the Minneapolis Morning Tribune (May 25), defended the American Forum against press misrepresentations in that city. Sibley is one of the six who have been ordered to resign from the Forum.  
**SHACHTMAN, TOO**  
As goes the right-wing leadership of the SP-SDF, so goes Max Shachtman, head of the Independent Socialist League. Shachtman has been for some time frantically trying to liquidate the ISL into the SP-SDF. The only hitch is the reluctance of the SP-SDF leadership who mistakenly fear there may be some vestige of Leninism or militancy left in Shachtman's politics.

## ECLC in Support Of Forum Rights

Dr. Clark Foreman, Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, issued the following statement today:

"The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee supports wholeheartedly the defiance by Dr. A. J. Muste of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's attempt to interfere with the formation of the American Forum—For Socialist Education. Free discussion is elemental in our society, guaranteed by the Constitution and no one should surrender that right.  
"If court action should result from the defiance to submit to Congressional inquisition, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will be glad to help in the defence of Dr. Muste or any of the other five subpoenaed in this connection."

purpose of the AFFSE. It is to be noted that as a discussion group the newly-founded organization adopted no political plank whatsoever, but confined itself to one purpose—the organization of free and open discussions among all tendencies and individuals believing in socialism.  
The staunchness of these American Forum members already threatened by the Eastland Committee should serve as an example to all opponents of the witch hunt. If the American Forum perseveres in example already set by its chairman then it can well withstand the attack upon it by the political police. It will rally the support not only of all genuine socialist people but of all defenders of civil liberties.

## ...McAvoy, Zaslow

(Continued from page 1)  
ican Forum has been made available to the public as the Forum has nothing to conceal. However, as Senator Eastland does not read the newspapers, I would not enlighten him by answering his questions since I do not recognize the authority of any committee to interfere with the right of people to assemble for the purpose of exchanging ideas, be they socialist or any other. I predict that the attempt of the Eastland committee to strangle the American Forum at birth by intimidation, harassment and sneers will fail. I am confident that this attack will arouse interest, sympathy and support for the right of the American Forum to exist and will strengthen the growing sentiment for the abolition of both Congressional committees of inquiry."

## The Mood Was 'We're Riding for Freedom'

**By Sylvia West**  
B'KLYN—The signs on the buses expressed our mood. "On to Washington," "Washington Here We Come," "We're Riding For Freedom." As the bus moved out from the curb, everyone started to talk. "I wouldn't have missed this for a million," said one woman. "I've always wanted to go a few rounds with like so I brought my golf clubs," a man joked. "Do you think Mamie will have tea ready for us?" An old man said, "Thank the Lord, I have lived to see this day."  
After we hit the Turnpike we looked out the back window and saw a long ribbon of busses in back of us. My friend nudged my arm, "Look back there, look at that." As another bus would pass us we would all wave and yell.

**IT'S FOR SURE**  
The feeling of impatience was powerful. "If I missed Rev. King's speech I'd die," a woman said. Everyone was estimating the exact time we would arrive in D.C. "I've been waiting since 1941 for this trip so I guess we can wait a little longer," said an old woman. "Well it's for sure this time. It's too late to turn back now." (She was referring to the 1941 projected March on Washington, which A. Philip Randolph and Walter White, its organizers, called off at the last minute.)  
As we drove through the Negro section of Baltimore the

people on the streets would smile and wave at us. We waved back. From one school building the children were all waving out the window. As we passed through this crowded, run-down section, the feelings of the people on the bus came to the fore. "You can sure tell this is the colored section"; or "Why do Negro people have to live like dogs." There was a feeling of bitterness and solidarity. Bitterness because most of the bus riders had come from sections of New York that looked like this and solidarity because they, more than anyone else, knew how it felt to live under these conditions.

About eleven o'clock the bus pulled into the station for food and rest. Here were forty or fifty buses from all parts of the East, from churches, labor unions, NAACP, and colleges. Everyone was smiling at each other, asking where they had come from, how long they had been traveling. There was no pushing to get food or use the rest rooms. Politeness and fellowship was the order of the day. The pay clerk smiled wearily and said, "It's been like this since 6:00 this morning."

Moving into Washington everyone was getting things together. Coats were put on, lunch baskets and thermos bottles collected, and one man made us all laugh when his big voice boomed out, "Let's don't stop here. Let's go straight to Georgia."

## Eastland Smears Dodge And Ford UAW Locals

DETROIT — Several officers and committeemen of Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers, along with others from Dodge Local 3 and DeSoto Local 227 have been subpoenaed by Senator Eastland's Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in the latest phase of the current antilabor offensive.

John Orr, Vice-President of Local 600, James Watts, editor of Ford Facts, Walter Dorosh, recording secretary of the Tool and Die Unit, and Paul Boatin, president-elect of the Dearborn Engine Plant have already made initial appearances in Washington. Edith Van Horn, steward in the Dodge plant, Max Trachtenberg, steward at DeSoto, and Mac Cinzori, committeeman at Ford, are among those currently scheduled to appear before the committee. These appearances appear to be preliminary to full-scale hearings rumored for the fall.

The reaction of many workers in searching for an explanation for the apparently purposeless recall of the unionists was to couple Eastland's efforts with the attempts of McClellan to smear the labor movement as racketeer and gangster-dominated. In addition Eastland's bias is clear. The head of the Internal Security Committee is also the staunch states-rights supporter of segregation and the author of a demand for federal action to enforce union-busting "right-to-work" laws. More and more workers are asking the obvious question: with whose internal security is a man like this concerned?

**QUESTIONED ABOUT UNION**  
The purpose of these hearings is made even clearer by the nature of the questions which have reportedly been asked of the subpoenaed workers. They deal not with membership in and activities of the Communist Party, but with membership and activities in the Progressive Caucus in Local 600, which is a grouping of unionists with widely differing political points of view, who got together on the basis of agreement on a more or less limited trade union program.

The record of officers, members, program and activities of the Progressive Caucus is a matter of public record in countless thousands of leaflets issued over the years. All the information that could possibly be wanted by anyone is there for the asking. Why then such a threatening procedure initiated by a Senate subcommittee on internal security? The answer is not hard to find. While waiting for the rights of the rank and file, the government is attempting to intimidate and destroy any militant rank and file movement — present and potential — as a step in the ultimate destruction of the independent trade union movement itself. It is precisely in the UAW — and above all, in locals like 600, 3, and 227 where the democratic tradition of caucus rivalry is strongest and most vital — that the anti-labor forces are concentrating their fire.

Carl Stellato, president of Ford local 600, pointed out the significance of the anti-labor maneuvers in Washington in the May 18 Ford Facts. He said, "If the membership does not fully realize the daily increase in the activities of the anti-union forces in the country, then it is my thinking that we had better get hold of ourselves and take a good hard look at the situation."

### COMMITTEE AIDS

"In my way of thinking," Stellato said, the McClellan committee "is concerned more with the passage of legislation comparable to the present 'right to work' laws now enacted in 18 states than to help the unions in winning the new goals set in the 16th UAW Constitutional Convention necessary for a better life for all the people of the country."

"The counterpart of the McClellan Committee active today," Stellato pointed out, "is the Eastland Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee... Yes, the concentration is on militant trade unions and unionists. Shouldn't the Eastland Committee on Internal Security spend some time investigating and curbing the activities of organizations that pose an equal security risk to the U.S.A., such as the KKK, White Citizens Councils, etc.?"

Stellato also upheld the right of Walter Dorosh to use the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer the Eastland Committee's questions. "To frown upon one who exercises his right under our Constitution is, in my opinion, to frown upon democracy," he declared.

Finally, Stellato called for the unity of the labor movement in the face of the attacks by the employers and the Washington committees and for the achievement of labor's goals in the 1958 negotiations.

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